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WORLD WIDE PEACE THROUGH INDUSTRY

Working Capital and Working People Instead of "Food for Powder" to Become Means of Peace.

Graham Taylor

Warden Chicago Commons

(Exclusive Service The Survey Press Bureau.)

Industry furnished the victims of war. Working-capital and working-people are "food for powder." They supply the "sinews of war" in money and in flesh and blood. Brawn for battle and blood for carnage are drawn only from labor. The treasure and tax of toll are the fuel for the flame of war. And yet the competition of commerce to get the materials for industry or to market its goods has been the chief incentive and occasion for the world's warfare.

There is a poetic justice in the fact that industry is preparing the way for peace, and in the prospect that the new foundations for international peace will prove to be industrial. It is none the less, but even more significant, that the peoples' peace is thus coming, less through such conscious effort as those of peace societies and their congresses, than as a by-product of blind economic forces and of world-wide industrial tendencies. But because of such voluntary preparations for peace as are being laid by education, ethics and religion, it will thus have all the firmer basis in the economic necessities of the new times. The ancients used to think "the stars in their courses fought" for or against them. We moderns are beginning to learn that it is futile to fight against the course of events, the order of things, the way of the world, and the human nature, which are making for peace.

Industrial interdependence, more than anything else, makes peace possible, and war more and more impossible. Man and man are made interdependent by the sub-division of labor, craft upon craft, by the organization of industry. Class is dependent upon class and nation upon nation all up and down the scale and the wide world over as never before in human history. No man can live for himself; no man can be. There is no self-made, self-dependent man or community or nation any more, no matter how much more so any have been in the past. We have all become so necessary to each other that we cannot get along or even exist very long without each other. This interdependence, grows with every invention, with every labor saving device, with every economy and efficiency in production and distribution, with all the growth of civilization. And as it grows, any interruption of these necessary interrelationships menaces human existence, becomes intolerable, costs too much for people to afford. War, therefore, becomes more and more impossible, peace more and more necessary, as nation becomes more and more dependent upon nation not only for its profits, but for its very living.

A broader basis for association is being laid by modern industry which is sure to become the foundation for peace among the people. Under the domestic system of industry, kinship or the village furnished the bond for almost all human associations. Under our modern industrial system, combination far and wide across these lines becomes necessary to both capital and labor. Capital has been compelled to mass its money and management in larger units. An individual

finds it less profitable and less possible to be "in business for himself." As partnerships supplant individuals, so corporations supersede partnerships and are superseded in turn by syndicates and larger combinations of capital.

Labor is forced to combine by the same economic necessity. Collective bargaining is the only way by which it can preserve its freedom of contract in dealing with collected capital. And employers and employees recognize their own and each other's necessity to combine, they naturally and inevitably deal jointly. The joint trade agreement necessarily includes provisions for conciliating and arbitrating their differences. Thus the very elements which have been creating international strife and provoking foreign wars are training themselves and each other in the ways of peace. In their separate and collective interest, organized capital and organized labor promise yet to be the chief impediments to war and the mainstay of the world's peace. For within every nation this industrial organization on both sides is clearly evolving a larger liberty, at least for the class; a rising standard of living for the mass; a stronger defense against the aggression of one class upon another and a firmer basis and more authoritative power to make and maintain peaceful and permanent settlements of industrial differences. Moreover, there are already developing legal forms and sanctions which not only make for justice and peace between parties at variance, but recognize and secure the final authority of the public as the third and greatest party to every industrial interest and difference.

Thus by associating with larger and more diverse groups the people understand each other better, are less likely to be divided by prejudice and passion from those with whom they work and deal, and are prepared to fulfill Mazzini's prophecy of "the association of the peoples."

Modern industrialism tends to bring men into international relationships. Capital has necessarily become cosmopolitan. It has largely expatriated itself. Commerce floats its ships and sends its goods and services to all parts of the world. However sinister may be the influence which commercial interests have had upon politics, there is a larger good evolving out of them. Organized workingmen, who were the first to frighten the world by ignoring national boundaries, are naturally developing international unions out of their national organizations, without the loss of patriotism. By stretching hearts and hands across seas to organize for their common interest across every frontier, these great craft brotherhoods bid fair to command the world's peace by their refusal to fight each other. Socialism is nothing if not international. However delusive it may be among the people of each country it can never array one nation against another without committing suicide. However impracticable or dangerous its deals may be considered by others, socialists themselves honestly think their theory furnishes the final and only basis of peace, by destroying the competitive incentive to war.

Industrial migration and immigration are playing a fundamental part in pioneering peace. Beneath all the unrest, waste and wreckage attending the modern mobility of labor, the working people who are drawn or driven from land to land are like the shuttles in a loom weaving a new

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pattern of international citizenship and cosmopolitan patriotism. America's adopted citizens are not so likely to want or tolerate war with the lands of their birth, as would the descendants of our colonial forefathers, had they continued to live upon an isolated continent by themselves. The return of so many working men to their kinfolk in the father lands, when a trade is dull and work is slack in America, makes our very industrial depressions work for peace. Thus the movements of our armies of industry and fleets of commerce are really an invasion and siege of the battlefields and citadels of war for the permanent establishment of peace. Commercial and labor laws in every land and reciprocity treaties between trading peoples are preparing the way for international courts and broadening and enlarging the scope and power of international law. Already we have an international society for labor legislation, with sections in each hand and publications in the languages of all the "great powers." This and every other co-operative effort to establish industrial justice and peace by the enactment of international law, limit the area and the number of the fields for fighting; substitute a court officer for a regiment of soldiers; build a "peace of justice" instead of a "peace of force," and consecrate it as the cathedral of the state. All the highways of traffic and the waterways of commerce no longer lead to Rome, but to the high court of arbitration at the Hague, where the people of the earth will yet seat the supreme court of the United States, of Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia and America.

WAR ONLY CURE

VETERAN JOHN BIGELOW SEES NO HOPE FOR HONEST REVOLUTION OF THE TARIFF.

New York, July 12.—From another civil war, due this time not to slavery, but to the tariff, this country may be saved by National insolvency, toward which it is rapidly drifting, says John Bigelow, the aged Democratic statesman, in a letter to the Tariff Reform Committee of the Reform Club, in reply to one calling for financial assistance. Nothing else will save the country from civil war, he thinks.

All appeals for a real revision or a reduction of the tariff, Mr. Bigelow says, are like appeals to drunkards not to drink to excess, or to burglars not to steal so often.

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